1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

GOVERNMENT—PROPERTY

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (ta.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

200 acres at $34,000; and the Frank J. Judd ranch, 190.57 acres at $20,000 for a total of 795 acres valued in 1938 at $94,000. The Judd ranch was actually purchased in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency, Stewart, Nevada). 175 657

1940 - 67% of the 40 old age pensions in Douglas County go to Indians (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

Electric power line extended to Dresslerville (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

1951 - By 1951, 528 "pinenut allotments"had been made. The area of the total alloted land was 62,713 acres. With the previous death of many of the original landholders and the subsequent division of the original 120 to 160 acres apiece among the heirs, 454 of the original 528 had been split up into smaller pieces. The process of fractionalization of the ownership of these lands is such that today it costs the Government more to administer them than is received by the Washo who collectively lease them to the Pinenut Stock Growers Association.

The area owned by the Washoe Tribe as a corporate body is the 795 acres of the three ranches and the 40 acres of Dresslerville. The Tribe also has some ownership of the colonies at Carson City and Reno. [423]

In addition to these lands, "Indians homestead allotments" under various U. S. Acts (June 25, 1910 being one) have been taken out by individual Washo Indians, principally in California.

In 1951 the Washo had a claim against the Government for the lands that were taken from them without a treaty. They claimed 9,872 square miles and asked $42.8 million ($7.8 for the land, $10 for the fish and game, and $25 for minerals and timber). The claim has been decreased and is still in the process of litigation in 1962. 175 [648]

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

● 423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (petalmi mɬgɬ) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed [685] upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen [431] in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and woman's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

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Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

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The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

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Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree [463] in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

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Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

433

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them [161] the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language [439] isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon [423] in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in stripe [251] and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

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There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174] unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbĕ́yū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbĕ́yū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbĕ́yū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians). 177 648

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases. [623] [423]

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo. 241 563 [433]

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

[313] [464] 177 222 492 177 241 871 [492]

Washo NTTo
Ashoonee NSS

[p.374]

Washo NT20
Kahomowi N55

CULTURE ELEM. SURVEY: KEY--STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	El	Gd	Ha	Ho	Ka	Ma	Pi	Sa	Sp	Wa	Li	Zd
2160. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2164. For rabbit drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2165. For antelope drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2167. For eat-tan (or duck) drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2166. For pine-nut trip	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chiefs (whoever or winner)													
2169. Head chief (tortal-winner) (leader of owned and localized group)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2180. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Community approval required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2182. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Chief's announcer (ceremonial)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2184. Chief's messenger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2185. Special chief: for dance (square winner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2186. For rabbit drive (hunt-winner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2187. For antelope drive (hunt-winner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2188. For eat-tan (or duck) drive (sojourner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2189. For fishing	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2190. For hunting generally	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2191. For pine-nut trip	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2192. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY													
2208. Band owned hunting territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2208a. Band owned valley in which lived	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2208b. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2167. Band owned fishing streams	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2168. Disputes settled by fight	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2169. Family owned seed plots	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2170. Family owned fishing place	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2171. Chattels all privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2172. All destroyed at death	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2173. Eagle carries privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2173a. Cold springs public	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2173b. Hot springs public	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
WARFARE													
2174. Raids only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2174a. Protection only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2175. Warfare rare	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2176. War ritual	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2177. Captives	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
MEDICINE													
2178. Shinnkin, stuffed, for chance (sex, gambling)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2179. Special house for children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Round willow house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180a. Regular house	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 20	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2181a. 90 ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•

[p.407]